

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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USNMR SHAPE

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DEFENSE FOR OASD/ISA

E. O. NA  
TAGS: UK MPOL MOPS MNUC  
SUBJECT: BOW PAPER ON NATO STRATEGY

1. JULIAN CRITCHLEY, CONSERVATIVE MP FOR ALDERSHOT AND VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE (AND FORMERLY CHAIRMAN OF THE DEFENSE ARMAMENTS COMMITTEE OF WEU) HAS PUBLISHED A SHORT PAPER, UNDER BOW GROUP IMPRIMATUR, CALLED "SOVIET REARMAMENT: THE NEED FOR A NEW NATO STRATEGY." CRITCHLEY HAD HIS PAPER CRITIQUED BEFORE PUBLICATION BY MEMBERS OF THE BOW GROUP DEFENSE STANDING COMMITTEE BUT THE PAPER DOES NOT, OF COURSE, REPRESENT THE COLLECTIVE VIEW OF THE BOW GROUP NOR DOES IT REFLECT ANY OFFICIAL CONSERVATIVE PARTY VIEW. HOWEVER, CRITCHLEY IS RESPECTED IN PARTY CIRCLES AND HE ENJOYS A REPUTATION FOR BEING AN AUTHORITY ON DEFENSE ISSUES.

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2. THE MAJOR CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF CRITCHLEY'S EFFORT FOLLOW:  
"A. NATO'S STRATEGY OF 'FLEXIBLE RESPONSE,' WHICH STEMS FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE RAND CORPORATION, IS BASED ON TWO ASSUMPTIONS: THAT NATO WOULD ENJOY FIRST USE OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THAT THIS WOULD BE TO ITS ADVANTAGE. IN THE FACE OF SOVIET REARMAMENT

THE VALIDITY OF THESE ASSUMPTIONS IS HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE.

B. THE ADOPTION BY NATO, AT THE BIDDING OF THE U.S., OF A STRATEGY OF CONVENTIONAL DEFENCE FOR EUROPE MEANS THAT THE OUTBREAK OF ANY WAR IN EUROPE WOULD TAKE SECOND PLACE TO THE CHOICE OF WEAPONS (CONVENTIONAL OR NUCLEAR) ONCE THAT WAR HAD BEGUN.

C. THE SOVIET UNION IS UNDER NO OBLIGATION TO ADOPT AMERICAN THEORIES, OR TO RESPECT NATO'S WEAKNESSES NOR DOES IT SHARE OUR CAREFULLY INDUCED INHIBITIONS ABOUT USING NUCLEAR WEAPONS EVEN IN SELF-DEFENCE. NATO HAS DECLARED THAT IT WILL USE ITS TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS ONLY IN THE EVENT OF DEFEAT OF ITS CONVENTIONAL ARMIES. IF THIS IS SO THERE CAN BE NO INCENTIVE FOR THE WARSAW PACT TO STAY CONVENTIONAL, OR TO ESCHEW THE NUCLEAR.

D. TO COUNTER THE THREAT FROM THE WARSAW PACT'S GROWING ARSENAL OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NATO NEEDS TO IMPROVE ITS OWN. THEY MUST BE 'CLEANED UP,' MADE MORE ACCURATE AND PROPERLY PROTECTED. THEY MUST COMBINE, AS DO THE SOVIET SYSTEMS, MOBILITY WITH RANGE. WE NEED TO RESTORE DETERRENCE.

E. THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE CRUISE MISSILE IN EUROPE AND THE NEUTRON WARHEAD WOULD PERMIT NATO TO ANNOUNCE A CREDIBLE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE.

F. THE REPLENISHMENT OF WAR STOCKS, THE 'HARDENING OF HEADQUARTERS AND COMMAND AND CONTROL INSTALLATIONS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND THE INTRODUCTION OF MORE PRECISION-GUIDED WEAPONS FOR USE AGAINST ARMOUR WOULD PERMIT NATO TO ADOPT A CREDIBLE STRATEGY OF DEFENCE.

G. TOGETHER, THESE TWO STRATEGIES WOULD KEEP THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN EUROPE, AND THUS PRESERVE PEACE.

H. IT IS VITAL THAT EUROPEAN INTERESTS SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AT SALT. OTHERWISE IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER COULD COME TO PREFER AGREEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION THAT WOULD BE TO THE DETRIMENT OF A PROPER DEFENCE OF EUROPE.

3. WE WILL POUCH COPIES OF THE PAPER TO DEPARTMENT AND DEFENSE.

BREWSTER

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## Message Attributes

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